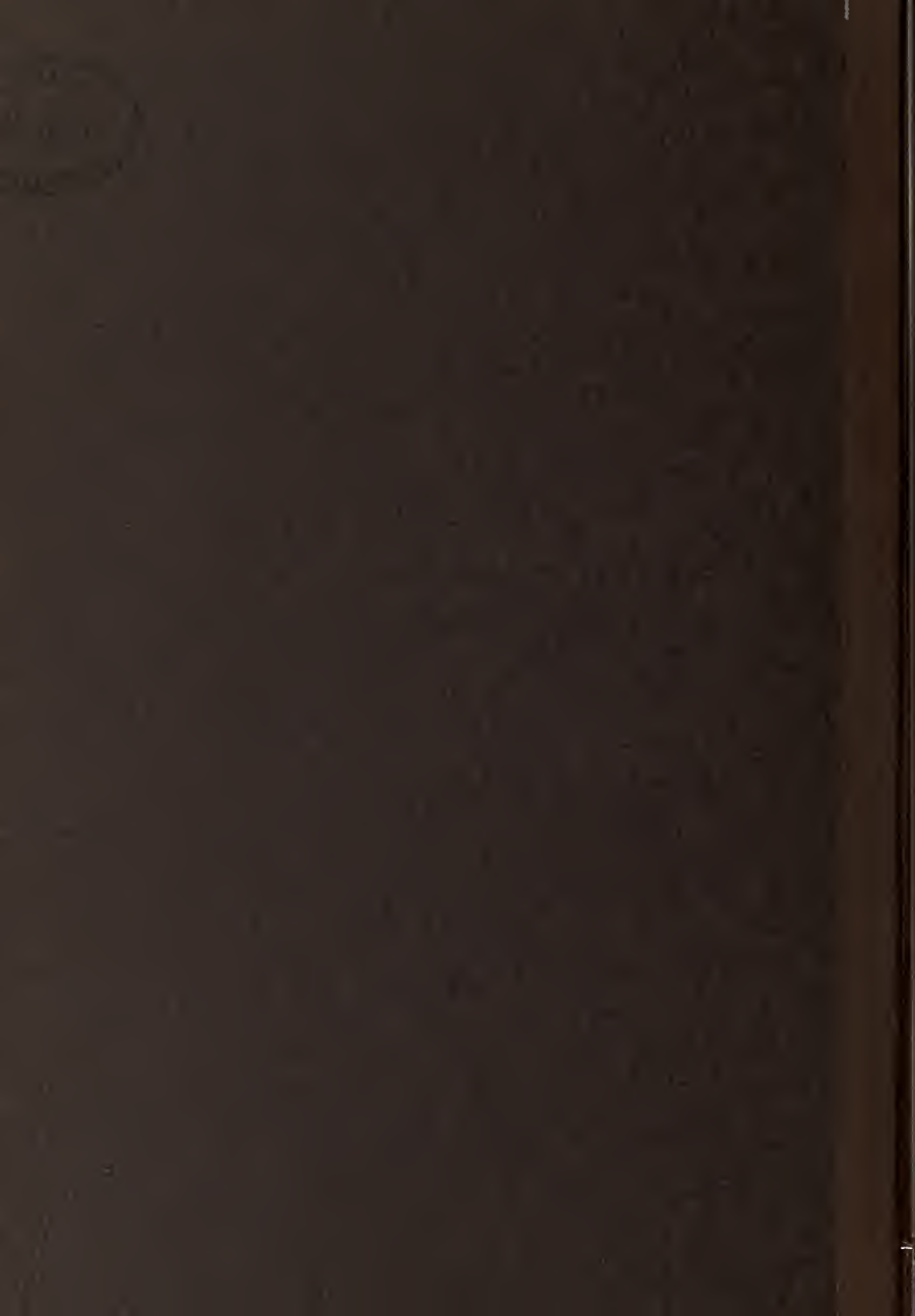


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LANGUAGE STUDY FOR NEW GUINEA STUDENTS

By

A. CAPELL, M.A., Ph.D.

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FOREWORD

This Monograph, reprinted from *Oceania*, Vol. XI, No. 1, pp. 40-74, contains the substance of three lectures given at my request by Dr. Capell in March of this year to a group of Administrative Officers and Missionaries. Most persons engaged in administrative and missionary work in Papua and New Guinea require, at least some knowledge of phonetics and some facility of writing down the sounds they hear, if only for the purpose of recording names of individuals and places or native terms. In addition, Missionaries must learn the native languages if their teaching is to be understood.

Dr. Capell, who, incidentally, is our leading authority on Melanesian linguistics, gives in Part I an introduction to the phonetics which will suffice for the above needs, and in Parts II and III provides a general background and survey of the general features and the grammatical structures of the non-Melanesian (Papuan) and Melanesian languages of the region. The reader who becomes familiar with these two parts will have some idea of what to expect when he commences his study of a particular language. The map with its key shows the distribution of the types of languages in the Mandated Territory as far as is known. In Part IV Dr. Capell has added brief notes on learning a native language.

I commend this Monograph to all whose work takes them amongst Papuans and Melanesians, as well as to all who are interested in the languages of these peoples. Readers will also find useful Dr. Capell's article, "The Structure of the Oceanic Languages," *Oceania*, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 418-434.

A. P. ELKIN,
Editor of *Oceania*.

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LANGUAGE STUDY FOR NEW GUINEA STUDENTS

By A. CAPELL

INTRODUCTORY

THIS paper is intended primarily for those who have to deal with native languages in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea, that is to say, for government officers who need to write native names, relationships and various other facts of daily importance, and for missionary students who will later have to make closer contact with native language and thought. At the same time it will serve as a summary of present knowledge on these subjects and a practical introduction to New Guinea linguistics, both practical—in the sphere of phonetics—and theoretical—in the sphere of language groupings and characteristics. By reason of its primary purpose, the map and examples are limited to the Mandated Territory itself, excluding the better known area of Papua and the still less known Dutch New Guinea.

The island of New Guinea is inhabited by three types of people. First come the Negritos, commonly called Pygmies. The existence of these has been definitely proved, and they are found chiefly in Dutch New Guinea, along the central mountain line, where there are the Pesegem, and at the head waters of the Mimika River, where there are the Tapiro and some as yet unnamed tribes, while in the Mandated Territory are found the Aförö, in the mountain country south of the Ramu River, and apparently there is a good deal of pygmy mixture in such tribes as the Mafulu or Fuyuge in the mountains of Papua to the south. The literature of this part of the subject will be found in the bibliography at the end of this book. Linguistically the Pygmies may be said to be unknown, for only a few short vocabularies have been recorded from the Pesegem, Aförö and one or two other tribes. No grammar worth speaking of has been recorded, but what little there is does not seem radically

different from the types to be treated later in this paper as typically Papuan.

The bulk of the population of the island comes under the heading of Papuans. These show a considerable variety of physical types. Linguistically the types are legion, and much recording remains yet to be done. The best known languages of this type are Kâte, Bongu, Valman, Monumbo, all of which will be seen on the map to lie on or towards the north coast. The newly discovered natives in the inland, about the Mt. Hagen and Wahgi areas, have not yet been studied at all fully from the linguistic point of view. The language on the Chimbu River, Kamanugu, will be referred to here as more or less typical.

The third element in the population of New Guinea is the Melanesian. This can be shown to be immigrant, though the evidence lies outside the scope of this paper. It is found mostly on the islands and at odd points along the coast. Practically all the outlying islands are occupied by Melanesians, e.g. the Admiralty Is., New Hanover, New Ireland, and the bulk of New Britain. The interior of New Britain is occupied by people speaking non-Melanesian languages, or languages only slightly influenced by Melanesian. Such languages, e.g. the Baining, are called "Papuan," but in this instance the term simply means "non-Melanesian," for whereas the Melanesian languages do form ultimately one family, those grouped under the term "Papuan" do not, and it would in fact be much better if the term "Papuan languages" were dropped and "non-Melanesian languages" substituted—a more accurate, if somewhat longer description. It is disconcerting to the student to find languages on southern Bougainville, in the Solomon Islands, called "Papuan," just because they are non-Melanesian.

The following chapters will give a sketch, firstly, of the phonetic bases of the New Guinea languages, and secondly, of the characteristics of each of the two great groups represented, the Papuan and the Melanesian.

PART I. PRONUNCIATION AND SPELLING

The first necessity for a student of language is the ability to hear and reproduce native sounds, and if he is recording a language for

the first time he must also understand the use of a phonetic alphabet. This first part is therefore devoted to a little elementary phonetic study. It is no exaggeration to say hardly any native sound is exactly like any English sound ; even if, say a *g* is finally written, it by no means follows that that native *g* is the same as English *g*. The first step in learning a language, more particularly an unwritten language, is to pay close attention to the native speaker or teacher. The student's motto is " Stop, look, listen ! " " Stop " means " take it slowly," i.e. do not be anxious to write a thing down the first time it is heard. A wise student will listen a few times before attempting to reproduce a strange sound or word, and he will attempt to write it only after he has himself reproduced it to the satisfaction of more than one native. He will also remember that natives are only too prone to accept what a white man says just to please him, and not at all because it is really right. " Look " means what it says : in many cases it is necessary to watch the lips and tongue of the speaker, so that a similar lip and tongue position may be taken up in reproducing the sound. So much, then, for general principles of attack.

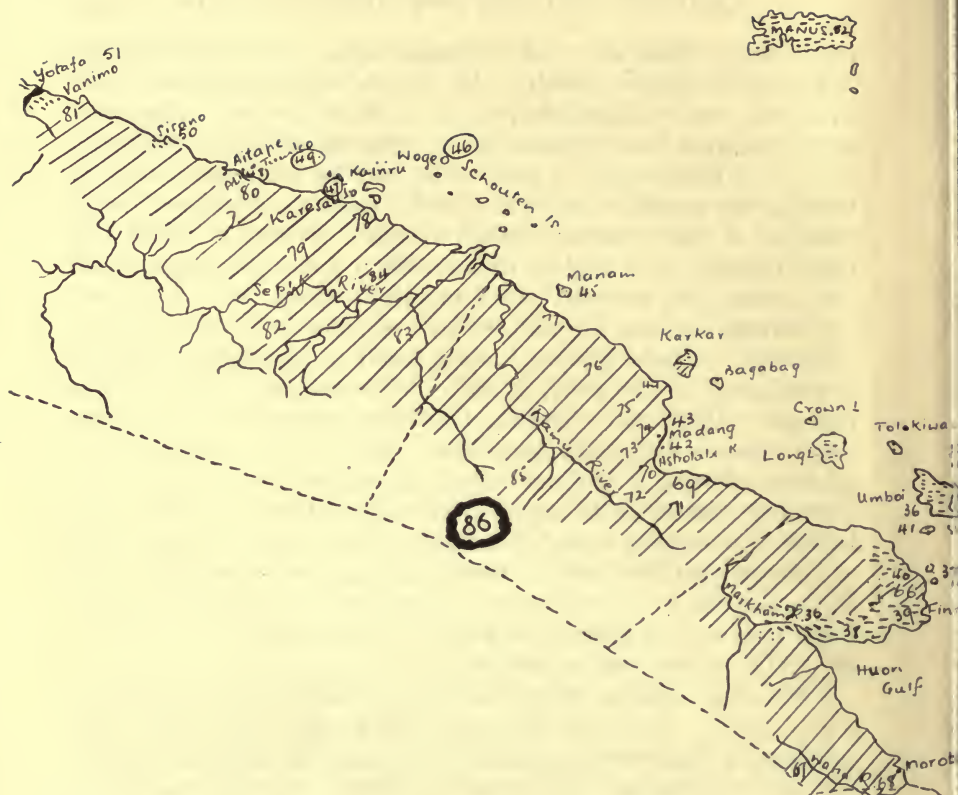
Phonetics is the study of the sounds used in human language. Practical phonetics deals with the formation and pronunciation of languages ; the theoretical side of the subject deals with laws of sound change and such matters.

Speech consists of two types of sounds, vowels and consonants. A vowel is a musical sound, produced without friction, and all vowels are essentially variations of one simple sound, that produced by the vibration of the vocal chords. The exact nature of the vowel is determined by the shape and size of the cavity in which the resonance takes place. This cavity is the mouth, the shape and size of which are determined and modified by the position of the lips and tongue.

Consonants, on the other hand, are sounds produced by the blocking of the cavity, by which air is expelled from the mouth, at some point. This blocking may be done by the tongue or the lips. It may be momentary, in which case the resultant sound is called a " plosive," because it comes out with a kind of mild explosive sound. Such consonants in English are *p, b, t, d, k, g, ng*. In other languages

the series is different. The blockage, again, may be prolonged and audible friction results, the sounds being therefore called fricatives. Such in English are *f*, *v*, *s*, *z*, *sh*, *th*, *l*, *r*, etc. These may be prolonged as long as breath lasts; plosives cannot be prolonged but are instantaneous. A consonant may be pronounced entirely through the mouth, when it is called "oral," or wholly or partly through the nose, when it is called "nasal." It may be trilled, like the Scottish *r*, or it may be sibilant, like *s* and *z*. Consonants are also named from the part of the mouth in which they are formed e.g. palatals are sounds produced by the pressure of the tongue on the palate; a palatal plosive is the result of momentary touching of the palate by the point or blade of the tongue whilst breath is expelled. There are no pure palatal plosives in English, but they are very common in native languages. Finally, a sound may be pronounced with or without voice. A practical test is that if the fingers are placed on the larynx the motion of the vocal chords may be felt if a sound is voiced, but not if it is voiceless. Hence there are the two parallel series of voiced and voiceless consonants, such as, in English *b* (voiced) and *p* (voiceless), and similarly *t* and *d* *f* and *v*, etc. The digraph *th* stands for two sounds, either voiced as in *that* or voiceless as in *thin*.

This last sentence brings out the fact that English spelling is not phonetic. One letter may have more than one sound. Take for example the *a* in the words *cad*, *cart*, and the difference between the two *a*'s in *scandal*. Still more noticeable is the difference in uses of the group *ough* in *cough*, *plough*, *tough*, *borough*, *through* and *thought*. English spelling is not phonetic but historic. The writing of a native language should always be phonetic, and that means that other symbols than those of the ordinary English alphabet will be necessary. There are many ways to fill out the deficiencies of the alphabet, either by the use of diacritical signs, new letters, or both. There are also many different types of phonetic alphabet, of which the best known is undoubtedly that of the International Phonetic Association. What is generally required, however, is one more commonly found in printing presses than this, and in the following table a system is suggested that requires a minimum of new symbols and is less difficult for a printer to compile. Needless to say, it is



KEY TO THE LANGUAGE MAP

The languages are numbered consecutively. No attempt has been made to produce an exhaustive list; as a general principle those have been included on which some information is available, or the speakers of which have been described by anthropologists or which appear on government maps. The map itself by its shading shows the group to which the language belongs; there is only one Polynesian language within this area—that of Nuguria—and this does not therefore require numbering. Nos. 1-53 are Melanesian, 54-85 non-Melanesian, and 86 Pygmy.

MELANESIAN LANGUAGES

1. Banone.
2. Torau.
3. Uruava.
4. Namatua.
5. Teop.

6. Petats.
7. Nisan.
8. Tanga.
9. Lir.
10. Tabar.
11. Lambel.

12. Lamasa.
13. Muliama.
14. Nokon.
15. Susurunga.
16. Patpatar.
17. Pinigidu.

18. Hamba.
19. Layama.
20. Fesoa.
21. Lemusmus.
22. Omo.
23. New Hanov.
24. Duke of Yo.
25. Kuanua.
26. Boava.
27. Nakanai.
28. Mengen.
29. Kombe.
30. Bariai.
31. Kilenge.
32. Arawe.



- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 33. Pulie. | 48. Ali. |
| 34. Möwehafen. | 49. Tumleo. |
| 35. A-Kinum. | 50. Sisano. |
| 36. Laewomba. | 51. Yotafa. |
| 37. Tami. | 52. Manus and Admiralty Is. |
| 38. Bukawa'. | 53. Vitu. |
| 39. Jabem. | |
| 40. Kelana. | |
| 41. Tuom. | |
| 42. Bilibili. | |
| 43. Ragetta (Graged). | |
| 44. Sarang. | |
| 45. Manam. | |
| 46. Wogeo. | |
| 47. Karesau. | |

NON-MELANESIAN LANGUAGES

- | |
|---------------|
| 54. Telei. |
| 55. Nasioi. |
| 56. Koromira. |
| 57. Koianu. |

- | |
|---------------------|
| 58. Motuna (Siwai). |
| 59. Kongara. |
| 60. Evo. |
| 61. Baining. |
| 62. Taulil. |
| 63. Gaktai. |
| 64. Tumuiup. |
| 65. Sulka. |
| 66. Käte. |
| 67. Ono. |
| 68. Tsia. |
| 69. Bongu. |
| 70. Bogadjim. |
| 71. Mindiri. |
| 72. Bagesin. |

- | |
|----------------|
| 73. Amele. |
| 74. Nobonob. |
| 75. Musarere. |
| 76. Monumbo. |
| 77. Arapesh. |
| 78. Tshuosh. |
| 79. Valman. |
| 80. Vanimo. |
| 81. Tshambuli. |
| 83. Mundugum. |
| 84. Iatmül. |
| 85. Kamanugu. |

PYGMY LANGUAGES

- | |
|------------|
| 86. Aförö. |
|------------|

adapted to the needs of New Guinea languages, and makes no claim to fulfil a wider mission.

The diagram used is that of the human mouth, the various sections of it being labelled, and the sounds formed at each point being written immediately under that part of the diagram.

Now taking the vowels first, a description of the symbols used will make the essentials of phonetics for this region clear.

1. *Vowel Sounds.*

The sound *i* is formed by drawing the lips back and raising the front of the tongue towards the gums. It is like the *i* in "machine," but rather more tense. A lax form, as in "it," may be underlined (*i*). If the tongue is lowered slightly, and the lips parted a little more, the resultant sound is *e*, which is not found in English, but is the French *é* in "été." It is very marked, for instance in Jabêm where it is printed *ê* by the Mission, as in the name of the language itself. The Greek *ε* indicates a sound close to English *e* in "men." If the symbol is not available, then *e* may be used for it, and the close *e* printed *ê*. The vowel in "man" is represented by *æ*. The sound of *a* is approximately as *a* in "far," either long or short (the short sound is not found in normal English). For this sound the mouth is wide open, and the tongue lies flat in it. If, without change of mouth position, the tongue is drawn back a little, the sound *ɑ* is heard, like the *o* in "not." It is common, for instance in Kâte, being spelled *á* by the Mission—again, as in the name of the language. Now the lips begin to be rounded, and the back of the tongue to be raised towards the velum. The first position attained is that of *ɔ*, which is not heard in English, but is the vowel of French "notre" or German "Sonne." The *o* has considerable lip-rounding and the tongue is raised still farther towards the velum. This is the *o* in the Scottish pronunciation of "boat"; in normal English this becomes a diphthong (*ou*). With lips fully rounded and tongue raised almost to touching point, the result is *u*. English again tends to diphthongize this sound. The lax variety, which may be written *u*, is the vowel in English "put."

These are "normal" vowels. It is possible, however, to assume the lip position for front vowels along with the tongue position for

TABLE OF SOUNDS.

		lip	teeth gums	front palate	back palate	velum	uvular	glottal passage
Plosives		labial	dental	alveolar	cerebral	palatal	velar	uvular
		<i>p, b</i>	<i>t, d</i>	<i>(t, d)</i>	<i>t, d</i>	<i>ʃ, ʒ</i>	<i>k, g</i>	<i>q, ɢ</i>
Fricatives ..	Nasals ..	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>(n)</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ɲ</i>		
	Laterals ..			<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>		
	Rolled ..			<i>r</i>			<i>ʀ</i>	
	Sibilants ..		<i>θ, ð, s, z, ʃ, ʒ</i>			<i>ʃ, ʒ</i>		
	Breathed ..							<i>h, ɦ</i>
Continuants		<i>(w)</i>		<i>r</i>		<i>(j)</i>		
Close ..		<i>(i, u)</i>		<i>i</i>		<i>ɪ</i>		<i>u</i>
Half-close ..		<i>(ɔ, o)</i>		<i>e</i>		<i>ø</i>		<i>o</i>
Half-open ..		<i>(æ, ɐ)</i>			<i>ɛ</i>	<i>æ</i>		<i>ɔ</i>
Open ..						<i>a</i>		<i>ɑ</i>

Consonants

Vowels

back vowels ; the result is the series of mixed vowels in the centre of the vowel table, no one of which occurs normally in English. The symbol *ü* is the sign for the sound which results from keeping the tongue near the front of the mouth while the lips are rounded ; it is the French *u* of "*lune*." Similarly *ö* is formed with the tongue position of *e* and the lip position of *o* ; it is the *ö* of German "*Töne*." The sign *æ* is the more open correlative of this, heard in German "*Götter*." The only vowel of this series found in English is the *ə* which is not exactly a mixed vowel in the same sense as the other. It is the vowel written "er" in "father" ; with lip-rounding it is the *e* of French "*le*" or German "*fragen*."

It is also possible to pronounce *u* without lip-rounding ; the sound is heard largely in Japanese, and is found in some Papuan languages. The symbol is an inverted written *m*, viz. *u*.

2. Consonants.

Of the plosives, *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k* and *g* are almost as in English, except that in the latter they are followed by breathing, which is not heard in native languages. English *t* and *d* are alveolar ; native languages may have them pronounced, as in French, with the tip of the tongue touching the upper teeth, when they are pure dentals. Another variety, with the tongue just between the teeth, is also heard sometimes. These may be written with a dash beneath them. The "cerebral" sounds are made with the tip of the tongue turned back against the palate ; they are not English, but are heard in all Indian languages, in Javanese and in many Papuan languages. They are hardly ever found in a Melanesian language. The American pronunciation of words like "guard" (*ga:d*) and "court" (*ke:t*) contains the cerebral forms of the plosives. The palatals are also not heard in English. The *č* and *ǰ* (which, if printing needs call for it, may be written *tj*, *dj*, as in the body of this work) are suggestive of English *ch* and *j*, but these are shown by careful analysis to be compound sounds *t-sh*, *d-zh*, for which the phonetic symbols are *tʃ*, *dʒ*. The palatals are much thinner, sharper sounds, which cannot be prolonged, unlike the fricative elements of the English *ch* and *j*. The palatal *ñ* and *í* are the Spanish *ñ* in "*señor*" or "*cañon*," and the

Spanish *ll* in "*valle*" respectively. Other palatal sounds are easier from the English viewpoint. The *j* is the English *y*, and the *ç* is the unvoiced sound corresponding, heard, for example in German "*ich*." The sign *θ* is the English *th* in "*thin*," the sign *ð* the English *th* in "*that*." The sign *ʃ* represents English *sh*, while *ʒ* represents the *s* in "*pleasure*." The "continuants" are sounds which can be indefinitely continued; *w* is as in English, *ɾ* is practically the untrilled English *r*, but with some raising of the tongue-point as in other cerebrals. The *h* is as in English, but *ɦ* is a voiced *h*, not commonly heard in English, and liable to be missed in a native speech.

Four symbols still require explanation—the three uvulars and the glottal plosive. The uvula is the pendant portion at the back of the upper mouth, and it can be raised, so as to close the nasal passage, or lowered so as to leave it open. The back of the tongue can make contact with it, and the resultant plosive, if voiceless, is like a far-drawn-back *k*, here written *q*, in its voiced form it is written *g*, and bears a similar relation to *g*. The glottis is really the voice-box; this can be constricted, though no actual sound is made, but only a break or gap in the sound. This stop is called the "glottal stop," and the inverted apostrophe is used for it. If there is a separation between two vowels, so that no such sudden break in the sound is heard, but merely a diphthong avoided, an ordinary apostrophe (') may be used.

These are the chief sounds that may be found in New Guinea languages; as a rule it is not necessary to employ all the symbols given. A "narrow transcription" is necessary only for scientific purposes; for ordinary purposes a "broad transcription" is sufficient, in which enough special symbols are used to avoid ambiguity.

Accent and Tone.

Accent is a matter which also calls for considerable care. Languages generally have an accent-pattern, e.g. some may place the accent regularly on the last syllable but one of a word, others on the last syllable but two. In some cases the accent may depend on the nature of the syllable, whether it is closed with a consonant or ends in a vowel, or on the nature of the vowels within it; but it

must be noted that a long vowel will not necessarily carry the accent. The symbol for a long vowel is the colon (:), but in Bongu *ni:'laR*, "to break open," it is the second, the short vowel, which bears the accent. This stress accent may be shown as in the example above, by an accent (') placed before the stressed syllable, or on its vowel.

Some languages, however, instead of stress accent have tones. Such languages are Chinese, Siamese, Burmese, and many of the languages in West Africa. In New Guinea only one such has yet been recorded, the Melanesian Jabêm language. Here there are low and high tones to be distinguished from middle tones. In a language of this type, a grave accent (') may be used to mark the low tone, and an acute accent (´) the high, leaving the middle tone unmarked. If a language is found where slurred tones occur, then a syllable that falls from high to mid may be marked with (^) over the vowel; one falling from mid to low may be marked with (˘) under the vowel. A rising slur from low to mid is marked (˙) under the vowel; a rising slur from mid to high may be marked (ˆ). There is another system, much used in West African linguistics, in which dots are placed between two guiding lines in the relative positions of the sounds and curves used to indicate slurred tones. This requires special type.

In Jabêm the general rule is that syllables beginning with a voiced consonant are spoken on a low tone, syllables beginning with a voiceless consonant are spoken on a high tone; e.g. in the phrase "the sea is deep," *gwé'ḡágá-boāḡkèsá*. Except for the use of foreigners and in grammars and dictionaries, the marking of tones is not necessary; natives who have been taught to read will read their own language correctly without tone signs, unless it is a matter of distinguishing words otherwise alike in sound.

Of course no amount of description will make it possible for a learner to reproduce a strange sound without hearing it, but a sound that is heard may be much more quickly identified and reproduced if a little phonetic theory is known. A learner who is trained to observe the lip and tongue positions of the natives, the presence or absence of voicing or whispering (for there are whispered vowels), length, stress and pitch, will be so much the more practical in his learning, and his work will be the more reliable.

PART II. THE NON-MELANESIAN LANGUAGES

These languages are treated first for two reasons, (1) they occupy the bulk of the island, and (2) the Melanesian languages are of so aberrant a type, so strongly moulded by their Papuan antecedents, that they are better understood if approached from that side. They are characterized by infinite variety—the number of linguistic stocks is as yet quite unknown—but with certain features that tend to be recurrent. It must be clearly understood that to apply the term “Papuan” to these non-Melanesian languages does not imply any relationship whatever between any two or more of them. The chief common features of these languages are :

- (1) Gender or classification may be found in nouns, as in e.g. Baining and Monumbo. These involve agreements or sentence-concord.
- (2) Extreme complication in the tense and mood scheme of the verb.
- (3) Frequent occurrence of incorporation, i.e. the pronoun object is incorporated as a prefix to the verb.
- (4) The power of agglutination, i.e. of building complex words out of a series of simple elements.
- (5) Special systems of enumeration, some defective, some complicated.

A brief sketch of these characteristics follows, European names of parts of speech being used for convenience' sake, although the same categories are not always valid in native languages.

There are as a rule no “articles,” words answering to “a” or “the” in English. In Melanesian languages there is always a common article, frequently *a* or *na*, and this has been taken over in the non-Melanesian languages of New Britain, Baining, Mengen, Sulka, Tumuip. In these languages there is also considerable borrowing in vocabulary.

Nouns often do not vary for number, or simply add a suffix which varies with the language. In Kâte it is indicated only for living beings, the dual, indicating “two” being shown by a suffix ‘*jahe*’, and the plural by ‘*-fa*’. In other languages other devices are used, e.g. in Bongu, (1) such a word as *lambe*:, “many,” *djegar*, “all,”

may follow the noun; the pronoun "they" may be added, e.g. *ta:mo: nadji:*, "man they," i.e. "men," or the word may in some cases be reduplicated: *a:ayam*, "trees," *ʔaʔaib*, "fishes." But in all cases number will be indicated by the verb.

Gender is usually shown by separate words added after the noun, but some languages have regular inflections to show the gender of a word, and these inflections are carried over into dependent adjectives, pronouns, or verbs. In other languages there are so many groupings of nouns that the term "gender" becomes inapplicable, and "class" is a better term. In Nasioi and Koromira, in south Bougainville, Solomon Islands, there are over twenty such classes, and adjectives, pronouns, etc., take a suffix in agreement with the class of the noun concerned. Such agreement is called "concord" and is a mark of the Bantu and some other languages in Africa. Thus, words indicating long objects will be inflected differently from words indicating short objects, personal possessions, male beings, animals, etc. So in Nasioi *pava-nava nkanava* is "house-one my," *bauka nkana*, "my chief," *mpa-navay nkanavay*, "bow-one my," *osi dakana-vuntu ora-vuntu*, "village your bad," "your bad village." There are forty-two such variations, but nearly half of them are recognizable abbreviations of the noun under which the words are grouped rather than true classifying suffixes.

In the Motuna or Siwai of the opposite side of Bougainville, though there are many numeral-classifying suffixes, nouns and adjectives are grouped on a gender basis. Sometimes the gender of the object referred to makes the difference in the adjective or possessive used: *ʔoʔ mahakata*, "my (male) dog"; *ʔana mahakata*, "my (female) dog"; *oʔ ʔoʔ nomai*, "this my boy"; *ana ʔana kuraia*, "this my girl." The *-na* is the feminine ending. Yet for "my house," the two forms *ʔoʔ howo* and *ʔono howo* are both given; these must therefore refer to the sex of the speaker. There is actually grammatical gender in this language, a division of nouns into masculine and feminine; thus *uri*, "village," is feminine, *munutuko*, "a dress," is masculine, so that one says *ti ʔono uri*, "this is my village," but *so rokoʔ munutuko*, "this is your dress." The language of Vella Lavella I., south of Bougainville, called Bilua, has the same distinction: *aya-vo kaka*, "me-of brother," but

anya-ko saygi, "me-of sister." The possessive particle follows the gender of the object possessed, not of the possessor: *mamba ko vatolo*, "the man's desire," the feminine particle *ko* referring to *vatolo*, "desire."

Some languages in the Sepik region, such as Arapesh, have as many as thirteen such classes, but not in all cases is a concord made throughout. In Siwai, numerals go into a large number of class forms, but possessives only into the masculine and feminine, and adjectives do not change at all. The Valman language has the same dual division into masculine and feminine only: masculine are names of males and anything associated with males; feminine names of females and objects associated with them, and nature is similarly dichotomized. Monumbo distinguishes males, females, children and objects.

The adjective generally follows its noun, but may vary for gender or class. In Valman there is an adjectival prefix, *vo-*, which marks a word as an adjective. But a predicative adjective is frequently treated as verb. In Kâte a pronoun intervenes between noun and adjective in this use: *yi' e ka'gbene*, "the man is big"; *fi' dzi gba'li'ne*, "this house is big." Degrees of comparison are often missing, and one must say, e.g. "this one is good, this one is bad," for "this is better than that." In Bilua the adjective precedes the noun and is joined to it by a particle *ala* (masc.), *ama* (fem.). Baining adjectives are also joined with *ama*, but vary for class.

The pronoun is always important. As a rule three numbers are distinguished—singular, dual and plural; sometimes also a trial, that is, three or four persons. In the third person singular, gender and class are often found. Thus in Monumbo:

		Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
1st person	..	<i>ek</i>	<i>ip</i>	<i>im</i>
2nd person	..	<i>tsek</i>	<i>up</i>	<i>um</i>
3rd masc.	..	<i>niŋ</i>	<i>mak</i>	<i>miŋ</i>
fem.	..	<i>uk</i>	<i>vak</i>	<i>mbok</i>
child	..	<i>mik</i>	<i>bak</i>	<i>mbok</i>
thing	..	<i>ik</i>	<i>manaman</i>	<i>mbok</i>

This language is rather exceptional in having only one form of the first person plural; more frequently, a distinction of inclusive and

exclusive is made. If I say "we are going away," and use the exclusive pronoun for "we," it means that you-to-whom-I-speak must stay behind; if I use the inclusive, you also are to come along. The series in Bongu runs:

		Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
1st inclus.	..		<i>jal</i>	<i>jig</i>
1st exclus.	..	<i>adji:</i>	<i>gal</i>	<i>ga:</i>
2 ..	..	<i>ni:</i>	<i>ni:l</i>	<i>ni:dji:</i>
3 ..	..	<i>andü:</i>	<i>nal</i>	<i>nadji:</i>

Here there is no gender or class system, Valman, with its masculine-feminine system, shows as follows:

	1st person	2nd person	3rd masc.	3rd fem.
Singular	<i>kum</i>	<i>tji</i>	<i>runon</i>	<i>ru</i>
Plural	<i>kibin</i>	<i>tjim</i>	<i>ri</i>	

The Kâte language has identical roots for dual and plural, as in Bongu, with a variable suffix:

		Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
1st inclus.	..		<i>nahe</i>	<i>na_{ne}e</i>
1st exclus.	..	<i>no</i>	<i>na_{ha}'</i>	<i>na_{ya}'</i>
2 ..	..	<i>go</i>	<i>nohe</i>	<i>noye</i>
3 ..	..	<i>e</i>	<i>jahe</i>	<i>ja_{ne}e</i>

Kamanugu is unusual in having the second and third persons alike in singular and plural (the language lacks a dual):

		1st person	2nd person	3rd person
Singular	..	<i>na</i>	<i>ene</i>	<i>je, jene</i>
Plural	..	<i>no(no)</i>		

The series of emphatic pronouns (which are commonly found in these languages) has the same defects.

Possessives in these languages are usually twofold. There is a series of independent possessives and a series suffixed to the noun. In Bongu the possessive relationship is shown by a suffixed *-m*, and so the cardinal pronouns take this final *-m*: *adji*, I > *adjim*, my; *andü*, he > *andam*, his, etc., and then this third person form is used to show the possessive relationship between two nouns: *bul andam inji:*, "pig its fodder," "the pig's fodder." But relation-

ship terms often take a suffix while still retaining the independent possessive: *mem*, "father" > *memdjim* or *adjim memdjim*, "my father"; *gam memgam*, "our father" (excl.) and this is the usual procedure in the northern New Guinea languages as far inland as Kamanugu. Kâte *mama'-naye'*, "our father," Nobonob (inland from Madang) *ige mamenige*, "our father"; Amele (in the hinterland of Astrolabe Bay), *memige*, "our father." In Kamanugu the forms of the suffixes are often influenced by neighbouring sounds, often irregular, and require to be learned separately for each word. They also have the peculiarity that all persons of the plural take the same suffix. Some examples are:

	My.	Your.	His.	Plural persons
Head ..	<i>bitna</i>	<i>bitn</i>	<i>bire</i>	
Uncle ..	<i>bawana</i>	<i>bawan</i>	<i>bawomo</i>	<i>bawo</i>
Nose ..	<i>gumana</i>	<i>guman</i>	<i>guma</i>	<i>gumo</i>
Name	<i>kangina</i>	<i>kangin</i>	<i>kangie</i>	<i>kangio</i>

The cardinal pronoun is usually placed in front of these: *na bitna*, *ena bitn*, etc. The third person of these indicates relationship between two nouns: *magan bire*, "mainland," "land its-head," "chief." The Mimika pygmies, like many Papuans in the south of the island, add a suffix to the pronoun: *doro-ta*, "me-of"; *oro-ta*, "you-of"; *amare-ta*, "him-of."

The verb is usually difficult. Person is indicated in all the languages, in some cases by suffix, in others by prefix. The pronoun object is sometimes indicated by a changed prefix. Valman has the second and third person plural prefixes the same, and this method of conjugation is found far to the south in the Kiwai of the Fly River delta. The idea seems to be that a distinction is made between the speaker and all others, whether spoken to or about, a difference that is marked by the name "inclusive person" for the first person and "exclusive person" for the second and third. This, it will be noticed, is not quite the same as the distinction of inclusive and exclusive in the first person plural of pronouns. There it is a distinction between members of one group, "we"; in this verbal type it is a distinction between oneself ("I" or "we") and every body else ("you," "they").

In some types of non-Melanesian languages there is little or no system in the matter of person ending for different tenses, e.g. the future second person singular is derivable from the present or past by changing or adding something ; what resemblances there are, are not of practical import. In Kâte the endings of the first three tenses of verbs are as follows :

Tense.	Sing. 1.	Sing. 2.	Sing. 3.	Dual 1.	Dual 2 and 3.	Plur. 1.	Plur. 2 and 3.
Present ..	-kopa'	{ -kome' -ki'	-ka'	-kopele'	-kopile'	-ngopenen	-ngopien
Near past	-pa'	-me'	-je'	-pele'	-pile'	-mbenen	-mbien
Far past ..	-po	-men	-we'	-pe'	-pi'	-mben	-mbin

At first sight it looks as though a definite series could be worked out, but the apparent system breaks down at points. In Ono, on the other hand, there is a definite system. The endings of the near past are : Sing. 1, -le ; 2, -ne ; 3, -ke ; dual 1, -te ; 2 and 3, -mit ; plur. 1, -ne ; 2 and 3, -mi. By prefixing *mai-* to these, a present tense is formed, e.g. -maile, -maine, -maike, etc. ; as in *manmaike*, " I see " ; substituting *ko-* for *mai-* results in a far past, *nankole*, etc. ; prefixing *ka-* gives a future, -kale, etc. But all acts which are merely contemplated as possible, not known as real, take a different set of person endings.

In the Valman language the distinction of inclusive and exclusive person is found, but not quite consistently used ; in the Kiwai of the Fly River delta, Papua, the system appears most fully developed. In that language there is a prefix for the inclusive person, another for the exclusive persons ; number and tense and many other distinctions are shown by suffixes. The following words will show the Kiwai type of compounding elements in the verb : *r-ogu*, " I go " ; *n-ogu*, " you [or he] goes " ; *uba*, " bad " > *ga-arumo-ubogowai-wadago*, " they are always causing trouble " (*ga-*, exclusive prefix plural ; *wai*, " to cause ") ; *neigo nou g-odomatidiro-rumo*, " they watch-did " ; *nei a-irodumo-irodu-muti*, " they continually pray. " Such suffixes can also show the action of one, two, three or

many on one or more, so that the nature of the verbal object can be indicated in the body of the verb itself as well.

In the Siwai or Motuna language gender enters also into the verb, "I give it to him," if spoken by a man is *oŋ oŋoŋ* or *ana oŋoŋ*, but if spoken by a woman it is *oŋ oŋana* or *ana oŋana*. There are similar variations for each tense. The reverse statement, "he gives it to me" is *oŋ nomai omuŋ* in the mouth of a male speaker, *oŋ nomai omuina* in the mouth of a female.

These things may seem complicated, but so far only intransitive verbs have been considered. In most non-Melanesian languages the object of a transitive verb is incorporated into the verb itself, so that e.g. "I-see-you," "he-sees-us-two," "they-will-see-you-two," and all such expressions become one word only. Not in all languages, however, is this possible as a general practice; in Bongu only *i:baR*, "give (me)," *ʔaʔalaR*, "hit (him)," *mu:raR*, "say to him," *o:naR*, "see him," take as a rule such prefixes. Kâte, however, has a very interesting system. There are, as in Bongu, certain simple verbs which take prefixes to indicate the object (the subject being indicated in the suffix), but these can be combined with other roots so as to become of general application as compound verbs. The relationship between the pronouns of the object and those of the subject are shown in the following table as they combine with certain verbal roots.

	Subj. Pron.	Obj. Pron.	Hit.	Give.	Show.	Say.
I ..	<i>no</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>nu-</i>	<i>nale-</i>	<i>nowatu-</i>	<i>natsa-</i>
You	<i>go</i>	<i>g-</i>	<i>gu-</i>	<i>gale-</i>	<i>gowatu-</i>	<i>gatsa-</i>
He ..	<i>e</i>	—	<i>kpa-</i>	<i>la'ne-</i>	<i>jaotu-</i>	<i>atsa'ne-</i>
We ..	<i>ŋaŋe</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>nafo-</i>	<i>na'te-</i>	<i>nafoŋu-</i>	<i>naŋa-</i>
You	<i>ŋoŋe</i>	<i>ŋo-, ŋa-</i>	<i>ŋoŋa-</i>	<i>ŋa'te-</i>	<i>ŋoŋatu-</i>	<i>ŋaŋa-</i>
They..	<i>jaŋe</i>	<i>ja-</i>	<i>joŋa-</i>	<i>ja'te-</i>	<i>joŋatu-</i>	<i>jaŋa-</i>

The dual has been omitted, and there are two other incorporating verbs. The interesting point lies in the fact that the verb "to hit"

can be added to the stem of any other transitive verb to produce a transitive objective conjugation, and the verb "to give" similarly to produce an indirect objective conjugation, with an irregularity only in the third person singular. Thus, from *hone*, "to see": *hone-nu-ka*, "he sees me"; *hone-gu-kopa'*, "I see you"; *hone-napo-mbiy*, "they saw us" [far past]; *g-ale-pemu*, "I will give it to you"; *lasi mulu'-yopa-ndzipiy*, "the enemy could kill you." There is a similar expanded usage in Ono, in this case *nan*, "see," is added to a verb stem for the direct objective conjugation, and *nin*, "give," for the indirect: *mire-ka-maïke*, "cooks-it-he," *mire-nin-maïke*, "cooks-for-me-he." The suffixes, of course, can be for any person and tense or mood required.

Class enters into the verb in Monumbo both as subject and object; in the former case a prefix is used, in the latter a suffix. S. H. Ray quotes the following examples in this article on "The Languages of Northern Papua" in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1919, p. 327:

	Subject.		Object.
I strike	.. <i>ek aŋ-ba</i>	I strike him	<i>ek niy aŋ-ba-t</i>
he strikes	.. <i>niy nuŋ-ba</i>	he strikes her	<i>niy uk nuŋ-ba-k</i>
child strikes	.. <i>mik mim-ba</i>	I strike child	<i>ek mik aŋ-ba-m</i>
it strikes	.. <i>ik iŋ-ba</i>	I strike it	<i>ek ik aŋ-ba-p</i>

The moods and tenses may be numerous, and to give lists of examples would take too much space. One thing is of importance, however: none of these languages has a passive voice (and this applies to Melanesian languages also). Kâte likewise has no reflexive, and the reciprocal is built from a base *e-* following the verb stem and taking person and tense suffixes: *kpakpa' e-ygopiey*, "they hit each other," as against *kpakpa' ke-ygopiey*, "they hit him" (with the auxiliary given in the preceding paragraph).

The practice of distinguishing only an inclusive and exclusive person in the dual and plural seems to be common to all the languages east of Nobonob, and is found in Kamanugu as well.

Numeration is an interesting subject, especially in New Guinea. Europeans tend to count by tens; so do Polynesians and some Melanesians, but no Papuan does. Some, especially near the Dutch

border, reckon in fours. So Male, in the neighbourhood of Bongu, has 1=*ludji*, 2=*lili*, 3=*yalub*, 4=*yoŋole*, but five is *bar gudji*, "hand one." Bongu itself is practically the same, but another neighbouring language, Damun, reckons in threes: 1=*gudjera*, 2=*lilo*, 3=*tumbay*, but 4=*tumalilo*. Kâte is a language where numerals stop at two; three is two and one; four is two twos, while five is hand, ten is two hands, twenty is one man (i.e. fingers and toes), forty is two men, and there exact counting seems to cease. In some inland tribes, such as Kamanugu, actual counting is done not only on the fingers, but for higher numbers by touching the shoulders and various points of the arm and the chest. Recently a method of counting by eights has been reported by Mr. F. E. Williams, Government Anthropologist in Papua, from the Auga people, also belonging to the newly discovered part of the island. Perhaps other unusual methods will be found also.

A word may be said in concluding about word building. Many of these languages are "agglutinative," i.e. they have the power of added suffix after suffix to a given root, until a very long compound word is formed. So in Kamanugu, *age-kinde-ere-ŋga*, "take-bad-make-I," i.e. "I injure"; *age-pire-ndi-age-tei*, "to roll a log," is lit. "take-roll-make-out," with *tei* indicating action on a second or third person object. Kiwai examples have appeared in a preceding page. Some languages offer themselves to these practices more easily than others, and some do not have the power of agglutination at all.

The order of words in the sentence in a non-Melanesian language is usually that of Latin, i.e. the verb comes last in its clause, the object preceding it. Words that in Europe would be prepositions follow their noun, and are thus postpositions: "ground-on" is the Papuan expression for "on the ground." This was seen in the formation of possessives. There is very frequently also a special suffix (the agentive form) to distinguish the subject of a transitive verb from that of an intransitive: thus if the "sea is rising," Kâte says *hawe'* for "sea"; but if "the sea drowned" somebody, *hawe'ko*, because the sea is now the agent of a transitive action.

PART III. THE MELANESIAN LANGUAGES

To call a language "Papuan" does not imply its relationship to any other language classed in the same way; to call it "Melanesian," however, implies that it belongs to the Melanesian branch of the great Austronesian family of languages, some books on which are listed in the bibliography. S. H. Ray's definition of a Melanesian language is: "Those languages spoken in the islands of the western Pacific Ocean from New Caledonia to the Bismarck Archipelago and Admiralty Groups and on the north and south coasts of eastern New Guinea, which show a definite connection in vocabulary and grammar with the languages of the Indonesian Archipelago and Polynesia. The view regards the Melanesian languages as a branch of the Austronesian Family of Speech."

As far as it can at present be inferred, the story of the Austronesian Family of Languages seems to be something as follows: at some time in a fairly distant past, the ancestors of these peoples occupied a region somewhere in the basin of the Ganges in India. From this they were forced to move outwards, for reasons that cannot be known, and at different times and by different routes they began to migrate towards the east. Different bands of them settled in different parts of the East Indian Archipelago; others went still farther east, and bands of those that had already settled later moved farther on, or their descendants did so. They were a seafaring people; they took the pig and the coconut and other foodstuffs with them, and acclimatized these where they settled. In the larger islands, such as New Guinea, they were unable to gain any real footing; in others, such as Bougainville in the Solomons, and Malekula in the New Hebrides, their influence was largely coastal; in the small islands they became dominant, or even eliminated what previous inhabitants there may have been. Thus the Melanesian populations of the present day were formed, though the sagas of the movements will never be known. The last band of these Austronesians to move out from the primal home formed the great Polynesian people, whose languages are a later form of the same original as those of the Melanesians. The Polynesians, however, were able to keep their speech fairly pure, with scarcely more than

dialectic differences, even to this day ; but the Melanesians, never homogeneous from the beginning, intermarried with women who spoke other types of language, with the result that Melanesian languages, while essentially the same in structure throughout the area, show much more variation than the Polynesian, and have a much larger non-Melanesian element. In fact, there are something more than three hundred roots common throughout Melanesia and traceable back through Indonesia on to the Asiatic mainland, and a common type of grammar. This represents a pidgin form of the original Austronesian grammar, with a comparatively small percentage of Austronesian words embedded in a larger number of aboriginal words in each language. It is this common type and vocabulary that is now to be outlined.

In New Guinea itself, Melanesian languages are confined to the outlying islands along the coast, and to a thin strip of coast along the north and back along the south as far as a point a little west of Port Moresby. On the mainland, many "Papuan" characteristics remain, notably that of word-order in a sentence ; on the islands the Melanesian type is much purer. Even some non-Melanesian languages have taken over Melanesian grammar and words. The languages on the south-east of New Britain—Mengen, Sulka, Tumuip and even the Baining of the interior—have such Melanesian elements.

Melanesian word order, in its purest state, is not greatly different from that of English ; "Papuan" languages tend to place the verb at the end of its clause, as in Latin. On the mainland of New Guinea this is still the case in Melanesian languages : in New Britain and the other islands the Melanesian type has prevailed. Thus in Jabêm :

ey gê-li' way luage' sê-poa'
he saw boats two they floated.

This, from the English point of view is straightforward. But contrast a sentence in Nobonob, a "Papuan" language in the hinterland of Madang, from the Mission translations :

am laipu la, nuge danab ahe ame-lage pa . . .
you one but he man woman eye-their at . . .

i.e. "but any of you, who (confesses me) in the eyes of men and women . . ." That is not straightforward from the English

viewpoint. In some languages of the Melanesian area the non-Melanesian word order will be found still to prevail.

Melanesian languages do not show gender in nouns, and do not classify them like the Papuan tongues. The third person singular pronoun is usually of common gender, including neuter. There is no form of plural for nouns as a rule. The third person pronoun is sometimes used, as in the "Papuan" Bongu, but more often context must decide the number. The pronouns are derived from one original set of Indonesian pronouns, the original forms of which have been shown to be as follows:

		1st person	2nd person.	3rd person.
Singular	..	<i>aku</i>	<i>kaw</i>	<i>iya</i>
Plural	..	<i>kita, kami</i>	<i>kamu</i>	<i>sira</i>

The restoration of the third person plural is somewhat doubtful, and not all Indonesian languages distinguish it from the singular. The distinction of inclusive (*kita*) and exclusive (*kami*) in the first person plural is, however, original and occurs also in Polynesian. How far these original forms have changed and broken down in the process of transplanting will appear in the following table, the position of languages in which can be seen on the map.

Language.	1st Sing.	2nd Sing.	3rd Sing.	1st plur. Incl.	1st plur. Excl.	2nd Plur.	3rd Plur.
Ali ..	<i>eo</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>ji:t</i>	—	<i>am</i>	<i>je</i>
Tumleo ..	<i>auco</i>	<i>ji:ji</i>	<i>jei:jei</i>	<i>etel</i>	—	<i>amem</i>	<i>rere</i>
Ragetta	<i>ŋa</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>id</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>aŋ</i>	<i>idi</i>
Jabêm ..	<i>aé'</i>	<i>aôm</i>	<i>eŋ</i>	<i>aia'</i>	<i>ama'</i>	<i>ama'</i>	<i>eséa'</i>
Kuanua	<i>jau</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>i, ia</i>	<i>dat</i>	<i>avel</i>	<i>awat</i>	<i>dial</i>

In the dual and trial Kuanua has Indonesian forms, *amir*, "we-two" (excl.), *amital*, "we three" (excl.), from IN. *kami*, "we," and *telu*, "three"; *amutal*, "you three." So regular are many of the sound changes that it is possible to work out tables showing what any given Indonesian consonant becomes in any given Melanesian or Polynesian language, though there are, of course, irregularities.

The use of suffixed pronouns is a characteristic of Melanesian languages, though it has been shown that they are not confined to this group, but occur also in "Papuan" languages. In Melanesian

languages all parts of the body and parts of objects take suffixed pronouns. In Indonesian languages all words take such suffixed possessives. Thus in Malay : *rumah-ku*, " my house " ; *rumah-mu*, " your house " ; *rumah-nja*, " his house. " So in Kuanua : " son " , *natugu*, " my son " ; *natum*, " your son " ; *natu-na*, " his son. " In Laewomba : " son, " *naro-d*, " my son " ; *naro-m*, " your son " ; *naro-n*, " his son. " Suffixes for the plural persons are not always found, but for the singular persons derivatives of this *-ku*, *-mu*, *-nja* group are universal. In New Guinea, both north and south, the cardinal pronoun is usually placed before the noun as well as a suffix after it ; the full Laewomba forms would be : *edza narod*, " my son " ; *jai narom*, " your son " ; *gea naron*, " his son. "

How is possession indicated in words that are not parts or relation-terms ? Here Melanesian has developed a special usage : the same suffixes are added to one of a series of possessive nouns. Thus, to take an island example, the Mota of the Banks Is., north of the New Hebrides, has *no-*, " goods " ; *ya-*, " food " ; *ma-*, " drink " ; *mwo-*, " action " ; *pula-*, " valued possession " as common possessive nouns, to which the suffixes are added, so that one says, e.g. *no-k o vetal*, lit. " my-goods the banana, " i.e. " my banana, " if I simply own it, but *yak o vetal*, " my banana " (to eat) ; *mwok o nomtup*, " my thought " (I do it) ; *pulak o kpwoe*, " my pig. " In other Melanesian languages there are other groupings, sometimes smaller in number, sometimes much larger, but the principle is the same. In the north a general distinction is made between food and other possessions only : Kuanua *kauga*, " my " (of an object in general), *agu*, " my " (food). In Vitu *kangu* may be used also for " food, " although *angu* is the proper form. At the western end of New Britain, Bariai has : *gau legn waga*, " my canoe " ; *eau lem luma*, " your house " ; *ei ele pore*, " his betelnut " ; and so on, while foodstuffs are indicated by an initial *a-* : *agn*, *am*, *aia*, etc., with a special form, *togau anyja*, " my food " ; *togo anyja*, " your food " ; *ton anyja*, " his food. "

The adjective follows its noun, and many adjectives begin with the syllable *ma-*, which in the original language was a prefix of condition or state. Thus Kuanua has *ma-lamalapanj*, " hot, " and *ma-doldol*, " cold, " the prefix being applied to words that are not of

Austronesian origin just as though they were. There is also a common article, *a* or *na*, which marks a word as a noun. It is not exactly the English "the," but may sometimes answer to "a" or "an" in English, and sometimes to no English at all. Kuanua has *ra* in the objective case, *a* in the subject. Another form important in the north, but rare in the islands, is *ŋa* or *na*, which answers to an original *aŋ*, and is called a "ligative" article. It joins adjective and noun in those languages which retain it. So Kuanua, *a ŋala na pal*, "the big house"; *a tutukana na tutana*, "the short-fellow man"; *a tip na arip*, "a short length of shell money."

The verb is again characteristic, but not nearly so complicated as in non-Melanesian languages. In the first place, person in the subject is indicated by a particle preceding the verb, sometimes changing for tense, sometimes invariable. The object is not incorporated, but indicated at the same point of the phrase as in English, by an independent pronoun. The subject forms are really short pronouns, the radical element of the original pronouns, and the cardinal pronoun is only used in front of these for emphasis. In Ragetta, thus from *wok*, "to call," using for clarity the full pronoun as well as the short form :

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
I inclus. . .	—	<i>idausun ta wok</i>	<i>id ta wok</i>
I exclus.	<i>ŋa ŋa wok</i>	<i>amausun a wok</i>	<i>am a wok</i>
2 . .	<i>o: n wok</i>	<i>aŋausun a wok</i>	<i>aŋ a wok</i>
3 . .	<i>i i wok</i>	<i>iausun di wok</i>	<i>i di wok</i>

Laewomba has a series more clearly connected with the original :

Sing. 1, *edza a* ; 2, *jai o* ; 3, *gea i* or *gea e*.

Plur. 1 excl., *jaga a* ; 2, *num o* ; 3, *ges i* or *ges e*

in each case followed by the verb required. In Jabêm the verb "weep" is :

Sing. 1, *ka-tay* ; 2, *o-tay* ; 3, *kê-tay*.

Plur. 1 incl., *ta-tay* ; 1 excl., *a-tay* ; 2, *a-tay* ; 3, *sê-tay*.

This, then, is the general Melanesian type, connecting with the original Austronesian forms more or less clearly. There is, in insular Melanesia, usually a particle of tense, and the short pronoun may combine with this to form a verbal pronoun. This occurs in

parts of New Guinea, e.g. Wedau, Bartle Bay, Papua, where *na* is a future sign, and the short pronouns combine with it thus : sing. 1, *a-na* ; 2, *u-na* ; 3, *i-na* ; plur. 1 incl., *ta-na* ; 1 excl., *a-na* ; 2, *o-na* ; 3, *i-na*, all placed before the verb. The same thing happens in Kuanua : *u-na pait ia*, "you shall do it" ; *i-na-wana*, "I shall go" ; but in the plural Kuanua has only *a* : *dat a wana*, "we shall go." Other tenses than the future are indicated by an invariable particle placed before the whole verb ; in Kuanua :

Present : *dia wana*, "they go."

Complete past : *dia tar wana*, "they have gone," "they went."

Past (remoter) : *dia (ŋ)ga wana*, "they went," also *dia (ŋ)ga tar wana*.

This verb *wana* is the local form of an original *panaw*, "to go," and in some languages this verb has provided the Melanesian future particle. So Laewomba has *ban a mar*, "I shall die," in which the original elements of Austronesian speech, *panaw*, "go," *aku*, "I" and *matay*, "die," have been taken over in a pidgin form. This is an excellent example of the characteristic pidgin nature of Melanesian grammar compared with the original Austronesian language forms.

There is also commonly a form of verbal noun, generally ending in *-ana* or *-aya*, which also goes back to an original Austronesian form. This in Laewomba, for instance, is *-eran*, and *a* is prefixed to the verb : *mar*, "to die" > *a-mar-eran*, "dying," "death." This form is used in Laewomba with a negative order : *wa-teg a-riŋ-eran*, "don't cry," lit. "stop crying" ; and with the verb *bin*, "to repeat," "do again" : *i bin a-tseŋ-eran*, "he again asked," "repeated the asking" ; also with *ufun*, expressive of inability : *num ban ufun a-tseŋ-eran edza*, "you will be-unable to follow me." Here *num*, *ban* and *-eran* are traceable back to Melanesian sources, but *ufun*, *tseŋ* and *edza* appear to be non-Melanesian—an example of the composite nature of these languages.

An important feature in most Melanesian languages is the suffixes to verbs. In nearly all there is a series of suffixes which serve to make a verb transitive, but these are not so marked in New Guinea as in the islands to the east. Thus Mota has *pute*, "to

sit">*pute-raγ*, "to sit on"; Fijian has *ḍiḍi*, "to run">*ḍiḍi-va*, "to run to" (someone or somewhere) and *ḍiḍi-taka*, "to run with" (something being carried).

Prefixes are also important, and certain prefixes are original Austronesian property and almost universal in Melanesia. Such are *va-* (originally *pa* and *paka*, which occurs less commonly in Melanesia as *va-γa-*) and *vara-vari-*, *vei-*, originally *ba-γi-*. The former of these indicates causation, the latter is reciprocal. So in Kuanua, *gugu*, "joy," gives *wa-gugu*, "to make joyful"; *boina*, "good," gives *wa-boina*, "to improve," "make good"; *tur*, "to stand," gives *wa-tur*, "to erect." Thus it may be applied to words that are not in themselves verbs at all. In the same language the reciprocal is *war(a)-*, but the resultant word is usually a noun: *kita*, "to strike">*warkita*, "a fight"; but *ku*, "to anoint">*war-ku*, "to anoint each other." Added to nouns in many Melanesian languages, the prefix makes a collective plural: Fiji, *vale*, "house">*veivale*, "a group of houses," "houses in relation to each other." This is never a simple plural, "houses"; so *vei-kau* in Fiji is not just trees, but "a group of trees," "a grove" or "wood." These two prefixes are rare on the mainland of New Guinea, where in so many instances the ordinary processes of conjugation are carried out by means of prefixes.

The numerals in Melanesia and Polynesia are traceable back to a common original series, which ran as follows:

- 1, (ə)*sa*; 2, *ḍuwa*; 3, *təlu*; 4, (m)*pət*; 5, *lima*; 6, *ənəm*;
7, (m)*pitu*; 8, *walu*; 9, *siwa*; 10, *puloh*.

The last of these, preceded by the numeral for "one" combined with the ligative article *-ya-*, gives *sa-ya-puloh*, which is the normal Melanesian root form. Not in all cases, however, has the entire set been taken over, for not all the tribes think in terms of a decimal system. This was shown in the previous part. In point of fact, nowhere in northern New Guinea does a decimal system appear on the north coast; most of the systems are quinary, while some have a separate word for ten, others do not. In the original, *lima* means

both "hand" and "five," and this fits in with most New Guinea systems of counting. A few specimens may be given :

	1	2	3	4	5
Kuanua	<i>tikai</i>	<i>a urua</i>	<i>a utul</i>	<i>a iwat</i>	<i>a ilima</i>
Bariai ..	<i>ere</i>	<i>rua</i>	<i>tol</i>	<i>paŋe</i>	<i>lima</i>
Ragetta	<i>taimon</i>	<i>asu</i>	<i>tol</i>	<i>pal</i>	<i>liman-ainta</i>
Tumleo	<i>pa-mata</i>	<i>pa-lo</i>	<i>pa-tul</i>	<i>pa-u</i>	<i>pa-leim</i>

After five, one, two, three and four are added in various ways till nine is reached, and then ten is either "two hands" or very occasionally a special word is used. Bariai takes the original *sa-ŋa-puloh* over as *saŋahūl*. Higher counting proceeds in a manner similar to that of non-Melanesian languages. The Wogeo language, of the Schouten Islands, has a complicated system, like that of the western non-Melanesian languages, apparently based on fours.

The common vocabulary of Melanesian languages, that word-store which has been brought into the Pacific from the original home of the race, is beyond the scope of the present work to list. A very full study of the subject was made by the late Professor Otto Dempwolff, and a short list of the seventy commonest words will be found at the end of S. H. Ray's *Melanesian Island Languages*. Something less than 350 words seems to be the common word-store found in New Guinea and eastward, exclusive of such grammatical elements as those studied in the preceding pages. They cover all spheres of life, and it is possible to reach some tentative conclusions, at the least, as to movements and directions, even to assign many of the words to points of origin and give at least a relative time for their introduction. It can even be shown that the Polynesians have not been without influence in New Guinea, especially in the south-east. But all these things are part of a wider study, which, however interesting, does not bear on the practical learning of a language—and to facilitate such learning is the purpose of this essay.

PART IV. LEARNING A LANGUAGE

Although no royal road for learning a language—especially an unwritten language—can be laid down, some hints may be given which will profit a learner. In New Guinea the great problem is the multiplicity of languages, and if it is possible to find one that is understood over a larger area than its actual speakers inhabit,

then a wise step is to concentrate on that language. Sometimes it is possible to extend the sphere of a language and make it a *lingua franca*, a sort of local Esperanto. This has been done in Papua, where a Melanesian language belonging to Port Moresby district has become "Police Motu," useful over a very large area. The Methodist Mission in south-eastern Papua has similarly taken Dobu as a standard, and the Lutheran Mission in the east of the Mandated Territory has made Jabêm and Kâte similarly *lingua francas* in the Melanesian and Papuan areas respectively. Still, the learner has before him the task of learning at least one of these extended languages, and the task must be faced.

In what follows it will be presumed that the learner is attempting an unwritten language, but one in which he can get lessons from native speakers through another language. In the first place, the use of pidgin English is to be discouraged. This medium is inadequate to such a task, as it cannot express the finer distinctions that so often make quite an appreciable difference in meaning. In the case of a student learning his first native language, of course, some form of English must be the medium. If he cannot find a native with any knowledge of English, or any other intermediary language, then he is simply thrown back on chance and personal ingenuity. If it is at all possible to use another native language, far better results will be obtained. In learning native languages in Australia, the writer has found that a very definite improvement both in accuracy and speed resulted when he was able to use a first language as the medium of a second. Natives asked in English for the equivalent of "I see you," often answered the question instead of translating it, i.e. they gave "you see me," but, strangely enough, they never did so when given the same question in another native language. Whatever the reason for this, the fact stands, and is a good recommendation for the use of another native medium.

Some notes have already been given on phonetics, and the bibliography gives hints for further study along these lines. Let it be stressed that the decisive battle is fought on the line of phonetics. A language is spoken before it is written, and this is especially true in native languages. Certain general hints may be given, additional to the advice to "stop, look and listen."

(1) Even if the language has been written and books are available, *never* learn from the spelling. Watch the native's lips and try to reproduce the sounds he makes. Let him give the word—and the same applies to sentences—two or three times before any effort is made to repeat them.

(2) Secure if possible an intelligent boy as a regular instructor, but be prepared to have to train the teacher. A native may know his own language perfectly, but have no idea of how to impart it to others. The learner needs to have some idea of what he wants and when he wants it, and to be able to guide the teacher, without at the same time disputing anything given unless there is very sound reason.

(3) Do not rest content with a native's assertion that you have the sound correct. Not only do natives not always "hear" sounds accurately, but they will often express approval merely to please the white man. The test is made when what one

says is intelligible to other natives, strange to him, especially bush natives not in frequent contact with whites. At the same time, it is worth while remembering that the older men know a good deal of vocabulary that is not common amongst the younger ones.

(4) Each day's learning should embrace a shorter or longer period of practising sounds, in the shape of fluency cards (described below). A little often, is a sounder principle than much once a day.

(5) Be equally tireless in recording sentences and words you hear incidentally. There is no complete dictionary, even though the writing of a language may have begun some time ago, and you may come across words that have not been recorded before. It is, moreover, a sounder principle to make one's own dictionary out of one's own experience, if time permits.

No doubt the first step is to secure some words to work upon; choice will be made of those most useful in daily life. Persons and objects in frequent demand will require naming first, and the lists will gradually be extended in a manner to be mentioned later. Yet grammar remains, and always will remain, the foundation of accurate language learning, and the learner must turn his attention to grammar from the start. Various ideas may be followed. Thus, a theme may be worked through in detail, e.g. the process of picking up a stick from the ground: what do I do? I bend down, I stretch out my hand, I bend my fingers, I take hold of the stick, I close my fingers, I straighten up, I hold the stick. Each sentence, worked through either in pidgin English or in another native language, contains useful words. Then other objects can be substituted for the stick: stone, spear, bow, coconut, etc., etc. It will be seen whether changes in the verb take place (in which case a class language must be suspected), and then other persons can be taken up: get the native to tell you to perform each act, and thus the imperative mood is gained, or to tell someone else, and then tell you what that person is doing—so the third person singular of the verbs is gained. The process may be repeated with two people, for dual forms, with three or a group for trial and plural forms. The question can also be got, "What am I doing?" "What are you doing?" and so forth. These methods, of course, apply only where a *lingua franca* is available.

Some verbal forms may prove difficult to obtain: "you are going" is one such, simply because it is not commonly in use. It may be approached as a question, "Are you going now?" But if such forms cannot be got immediately it does not greatly matter; they will come in due course by accident. Many useful things are gained in this way by an observant learner. Sometimes, too, analysis proves difficult: a form may have occurred more than once, without being understood. In this case a careful tabulation of the various examples may throw light on the meaning.

Fluency cards have been mentioned. The suggestion is to take a number of slips of cardboard, small enough to go in one's pocket, and write on them a number of native sentences identical except in one or two words. These can then be practised up to the normal speed of native speech—which is the meaning of "fluency"—till

the various words can be substituted with no loss of speed and no hesitation. So, to take a simple example (in English) :

A woman man boy girl chief	came from went to is coming from will go to	the this that my	village garden house
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Such a table should be practised until any word can be substituted for any other word in the same column without loss of speed or accuracy, and a zig-zag course pursued from column to column in the same way. Almost any sentence will serve as the starting point for such a fluency table, and the learner's ingenuity will not be taxed in building up such a table on any point of grammar or vocabulary usage he may desire or have had difficulty with. Such a substitution table learned by heart is a useful asset in daily intercourse. Where noun classes or genders exist in a language such a table will be a useful means of learning the grammatical changes involved in sentences governed by nouns of different class or gender.

To return now to the compilation of a vocabulary. This may be done in two ways, either by direct questioning or by gathering from texts. In the first case, the learner may take a subject and find out systematically all the words connected with it. It may be a garden : the names of the beds and other parts of the garden, the plants used for food, the process of making a garden, etc. ; or it may be a house, a canoe, a bush walk (especially for tree names), or any one of a multitude of subjects which occur in daily life. The only point is that nothing too recondite should be undertaken at first—for instance the building of a house or the making of a canoe generally entails a complicated mass of vocabulary much of which is technical, or at least "advanced" work. This will all come in due course, but not in the earlier stages. One important aspect of vocabulary is that of relationship terms, and here an early beginning is advisable. A learner who has some prior knowledge of anthropology might with advantage attempt some genealogies, to find by what terms a given person calls his various relatives, and this may lead to light being thrown on social usages, kinship obligations, and much that is not only interesting but useful. It may enable the worker not to attempt to couple together in one piece of work two people whom social usage keeps apart, such as a man and his wife's relatives, who are often "taboo" to him in varying degrees. Throughout it all, however, the learner must be careful to correlate his word lists with his daily life, for, after all, a word list is no special use in itself, neither are disconnected sentences ; a small number of things learned in a really practical way is to be preferred to a larger quantity undigested. At the same time, it is true that he will learn to recognize many words that he cannot reproduce himself, that is to say, that his "passive"

vocabulary, as it is called, will be larger than his "active" vocabulary. This is true of the mother tongue: we all know words that we would not be likely to use. Words learned should be set in a context, and the setting may make a serious difference to the meaning. Isolation of words is often misleading. Meanings are often specialized, much more so in native languages than in our own. There may, for instance, be no general term for "ripe": one word may indicate the maturity of some fruits and another word that of others. Various ways of sitting may be indicated by different words, and so on.

A scientific worker will have special needs to consider. The direct study of historical linguistics in Melanesia involves seeking words that are known to have been introduced from the original Indonesian source, and the seeker will ask for such words at an early stage. Words that are important in Australia may be less important in Melanesia. In New Guinea, for instance, the occurrence of the bow and arrow is strictly limited; hence the words will not be found in some areas, but will be matters of daily occurrence in others. So whilst the order and choice of material will differ from place to place, and according to the learner's purpose, the building up of a dictionary will gradually be brought nearer completion. Such a dictionary needs to contain not only the words and their common meanings, but all information necessary to their right use—gender or class, irregular inflections, special or idiomatic usages, useful phrases involving the given word.

Of course, an unwritten language will not have a literature in the European sense of the word, but there may be a considerable body of oral or traditional literature. There will be a system of mythology in most instances, or folk tales and other stories told. It will be well for the learner to try to get some of these dictated to him as soon as possible—before he feels capable of fluent understanding of every word he hears. They will at once serve to give him a greater insight in native thinking, to provide some "interest material" apart from the daily round of language-learning, and to add many new words to his stock. Here his teacher will be asked to enlist the services of the older and more instructed members of the tribe, whose response will be a useful indicator of their degree of confidence in the white visitor. When the narrators have been persuaded to dictate slowly enough for copying, they should be allowed to tell the whole story without interruption—or a very minimum of it—and then the text should be gone over carefully with one's usual instructor for meanings of words and constructions, till the learner feels that he has really grasped it. Then it may serve for reading practice, till it can be reproduced accurately with the fluency of normal daily speech, and grammatical constructions that gave difficulty may be isolated and form the basis of fluency tables for further practice. Again, different learners will want different types of text for their particular purposes, but sympathetic enquiry into the institutions and beliefs of the people one lives amongst is never a loss. By "sympathetic" is meant that the learner does not seek to remodel—at the moment—or show disapproval of what he is told as facts: there is

no surer means of drying up sources of information ; but he remembers that he is the learner and they for the time being his teachers, and he treats them accordingly.

Listening is also a useful art. If the learner is seen to carry a notebook about with him all the time and jot down everything heard natives may become shy of talking in his presence, but they will not resent a moderate amount of such conduct. It is useful for the learner to try to understand the conversation he hears around him just as conversation, and it is remarkable how soon he will be able to get the general drift of what is being said. Some language teachers advocate the use of "unconscious assimilation," periods in which the teacher simply talks to the class without translation, although they may not understand much of what is said. They are getting an ear for the sounds and the contexts. Daily living in a native society will provide these periods in abundance for the intelligent listener.

Finally, let it be said that work that is to be productive of results must be systematic. Certain things need to be assigned to certain periods of each day as regularly as possible. These are (1) revision of the previous day's work, with special revision say each week or each month ; (2) practice of pronunciation and fluency should have a regular part in each day's work (the period need not be long : five or ten minutes' concentrated work is enough) ; (3) special sentences required for daily use should be practised each day and the words modified or substituted to suit different imaginary situations, and with this may be included question-and-answer practice : question words like " who ? " " what ? " " where ? " " why ? " are always being needed ; numerals are always being used, and certain orders often have to be given. A few minutes each day on work of this kind is advisable. (4) Reading practice begins once the collection of texts has begun and revision of these can be indulged in. (5) New material, within limits that can be assimilated, should be provided for according to some regular scheme. A series of subjects for investigation may be drawn up along the lines already suggested for vocabulary extension, and stories woven about this vocabulary. (6) Finally, definite conversation practice, outside the circle of one's usual instructors, should be sought. Children are especially useful in this connection. A person who can understand the casual remarks bandied between playing children will have made much progress. Bush natives, and the older men who are less likely to speak English, are also good subjects for conversation efforts. The learner need not be shy of trying to speak : that is why he is learning the language, and practice makes perfect.

These notes are nothing more than " notes," indications of methods of procedure, but it is the student himself in the long run on whom final success depends. There is no reason that such success should not be obtained if he is really keen, willing to be taught, and has patience enough to take the necessary pains to build up a new series of habits and reactions. Some points, such as the use of gramophone records or a dictaphone, have been omitted simply because they are rarely practicable in Oceania, but enough has been said to show profitable lines of approach to the white man's linguistic problem amongst the native races.

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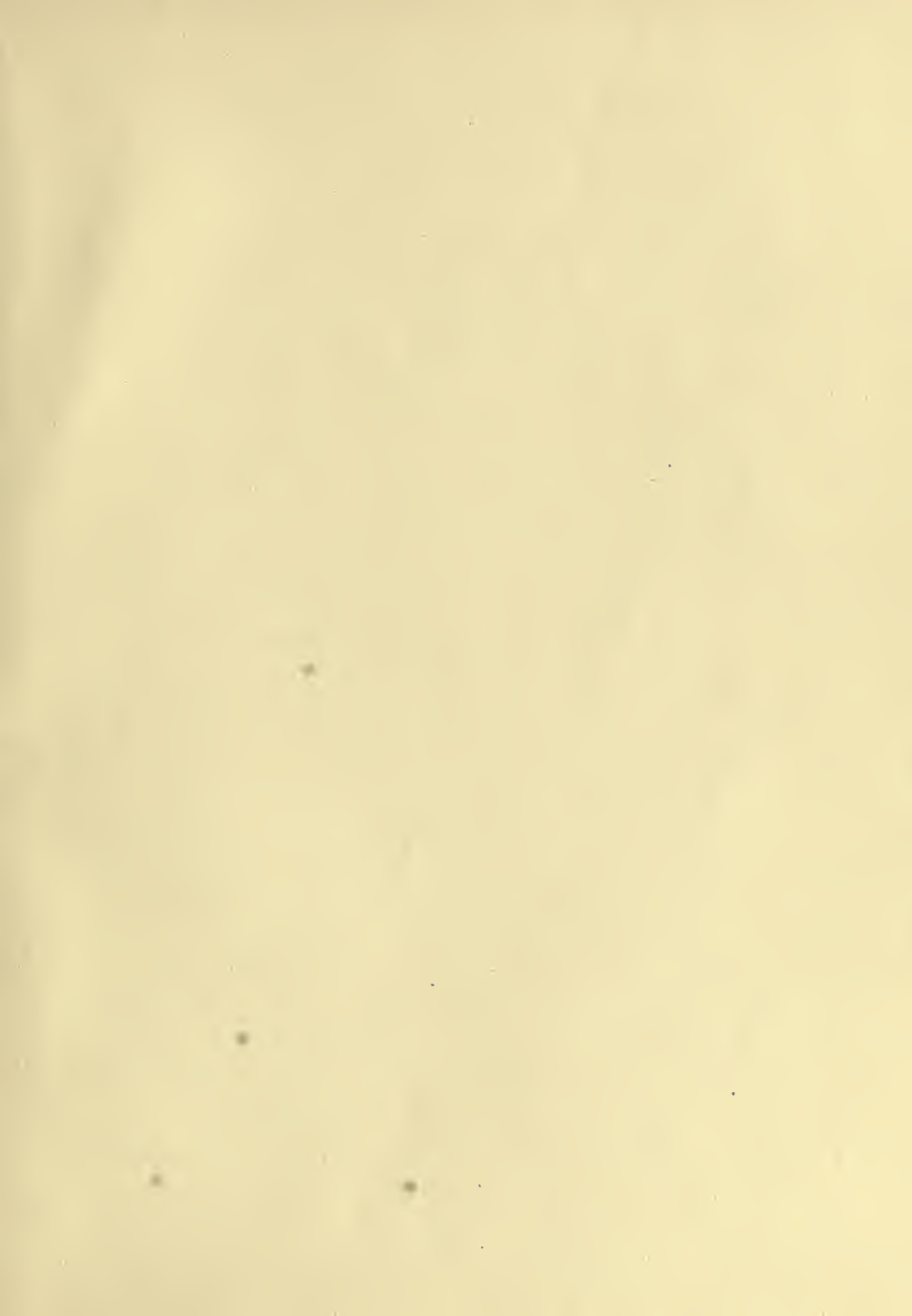
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